231 times petted. One reason for having cats is "because they give pleasure." They are given "pretty" names or names of affection such as [552] *Chulita* and *Negrita* ("Pretty Little One" and "Little Black One").

Cats are fed primarily on tortillas, although they usually are given a little of whatever the family is eating. Kittens are given away to friends and relatives; they are never killed, "for there are never enough cats." Strange [754] cats may be associated with witchcraft and might be mistreated or killed, but this apparently does not happen often. Eating of cats is denied, although young fat kitten is reported to be a delicacy for really poor people in nearby Mestizo towns.

235 *Chickens.*—Many people have no chickens and no one has large flocks. They are fed, but receive little care. Fowls are sometimes eaten on special occasions, such as a baptism, when [262] a cooked fowl may be presented to the godfather. Eggs are rarely eaten but are sold to [438] traveling egg merchants from Mestizo towns. [435] An average egg will sell for 5 or 6 centavos, which will buy enough beans for a whole family to have a meal, while one egg "will not satisfy even one person."

Chickens are fed whole corn or, if there are very few chickens, *nixtamal* (*masa* or corn dough for tortillas). Chicks are also fed *nixtamal.* Boxes or baskets are provided for nests. The first time a hen wishes to "set," it is not permitted, but it is the second time. Eggs from other hens are never placed under a "setting" hen. Small chicks are placed under box crates to protect them from "*onzas*" (from [136] descriptions, *onza* in Cherán means a small weasellike animal).

● [541] Roosters are raised for cock fighting. However, organized cock fights are held only during the fiesta of Octava.

Pigeons.—Although regarded as a domestic animal, pigeons are really wild. Ownership is [422] not clear. As the birds are not fed, but help themselves to stored grain in the lofts of the houses, ownership presumably would be felt for the birds eating one's corn. The matter seems unimportant, as the birds are rarely eaten, although they are used in connection with the San Juan fiesta. If eaten, only adult [262] pigeons are killed.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p122q]

527 assembled, the young men have to rebuild the
624 bull ring. Anyone not doing his part or pro-
358 viding his materials, as Romero put it, "rests in jail."

The bulls for the bull riding are sought by
527 the mayor or by a member of the *ayuntamiento*.
624 Different persons provide bulls for each of the 3
541 days they are ridden. On the Sunday the fiesta begins, the mayor or one of the councilmen takes a bottle of *charanda* to the house of the person to be invited to provide bulls. If the person accepts the bottle of *charanda*, he is
[492] obligated to provide his bulls for riding (only a few people in town have suitable bulls). The owner of the bulls then invites others to help him bring in the bulls or, if they own bulls, to bring theirs as well. If they accept, he gives them a drink of *charanda*. The same routine is followed for the bulls to be ridden the other 2 days.

Sometimes bulls are brought from another town. If the relations between the towns are
[427] friendly, usually the bulls will be lent, if not, it may be necessary to pay rent for the use of the animals. The rent is paid from the municipal treasury, using some of the money collected from vendors in the plaza.

One other obligation exists which should be
527 noted. The one rancheria of Cherán, Cosúmo,
624 provides a *chirimía* band each year (the
[534] chirimía is an oboelike wind instrument). In 1940, the band was said to be from Carapan. The men from the rancheria also act as policemen during the fiesta.

527 The sequence of events leading up to the fiesta and the fiesta itself will now be described. As already indicated, the first preparations began with the naming of the commissioners by the mayor on August 20. Obviously, the actual notifications on this date were preceded by discussion of suitable persons and the preparation of the letters. The commissioners then sought their assistants, began estimating costs, making up the lists of contributors, and collecting money, at the same time making arrangements with fireworks makers, musicians, and candlemakers. The commissioners for the moros began hunting for dancers. Meanwhile, every Sunday, the young men practiced bull riding on the tame bulls kept near town. They also began to bring in logs

527 were attempts made to raise the structure,
389 various volunteers working under the direction of the fireworks maker. The commissioners for the fireworks had kept their promise to bring in a 20-meter pole, and great difficulties were encountered in trying to raise it. The climax of several abortive efforts came when the pole snapped about halfway up. By some miracle no one was hurt, although it appeared to fall in a dense crowd.

The collapse of the pole cast a damper on the whole fiesta, for the burning of the *castillo* is one of the high points of any Mexican fiesta. Some violence was threatened the fireworks maker, so he was promptly arrested by the authorities, partly to protect him from the crowd. He pointed out that he was not responsible for furnishing the pole and that the commissioners had brought a pine pole instead of a fir pole of similar size. The fireworks maker also argued that there was a smaller *castillo*, planned for the following night as a surprise; if he were arrested, he would be unable to put the finishing touches on that *castillo* and there would be no fireworks at all. Finally, he promised he would salvage a large part of the damaged *castillo* and the following night it would be possible to have two *castillos*. When the crowd quieted down, the fireworks maker was released and succeeded in carrying out his promises.

The threats of the crowd were not idle, by
[686] any means. The fireworks maker is always held responsible for any failures and cases are known where the maker has been badly mauled. In any case he is usually jailed and often heavily fined. In the present instance the municipal officers were all reasonable men, and no drastic measures were taken. The fireworks maker did not, however, receive the full price.

Monday morning the market continued. The
527 first band appeared and began to play about
533 11 o'clock. The second band appeared with the moros about an hour later. The moros dismounted in front of the church and went into the priest's residence, dancing before him. Then they went down the street dancing before the stores again, finally stopping for dinner.

● [541] About 2 o'clock it was rumored that the bulls were about to be brought in. Actually, they were being held in a meadow in the *barranca* below

527 town and were waiting both for the proper
533 time and for the last finishing touches to be put
[541] on the bull ring.

About this time the *chirimía* band appeared again and played in front of the *municipio*. It then started on a round of the stores, with special attention to the saloons.

527 The bulls were brought in about 3:45. This
541 was a high point for many of the crowd but it was somewhat of an anticlimax, for the animals seemed a somewhat cowed and meek lot. The moros followed the bulls down the street on horseback, accompanied by a band. When the bulls were finally in the ring, the moros departed to remove their costumes. A band was placed in each grandstand. The municipal officials were seated in a special reserved section of one of the band stands, each carrying a bunch of flowers. The grandstands were soon filled. Those who did not have the admission price or who could not find a place, sat on the railings of the fence or peered between them.

The man in charge of the bull ring is always the owner of the bulls being used that day. He is assisted by a number of volunteers, some mounted and some on foot. The first act is to clear the ring and get the bulls in a pen at one side. Then one bull is let out into the ring and the performance starts.

The object of the performance is not to fight the bull but to ride him. For this, a front foot and a hind foot of the bull must be lassoed and the animal thrown (pl. 5, lower left). Before this is accomplished the bull is teased and played for a time. A few men and boys imitate the actions of bullfighters, using blankets instead of capes to persuade the bulls to charge. Several men on horseback also try to lasso a foot; they usually fail and often the bull is goaded into charging. This is mightily pleasing to the audience. Usually the lassos are actually placed by men on foot.

When the bull is thrown, several men hold him down while a rope is wound tightly several times about the bull's chest and knotted securely. The volunteer rider has heavy spurs fastened to his feet and mounts the bull while it is still held down. He takes a firm grip on the rope and hooks his spurs under the rope also. When he is ready, the bull is released. It rises and endeavors to throw the rider (pl. 5,

527 upper and lower, right). By the end of 2 or 3
541 minutes either the rider is thrown or the bull gives up. In the first case, men with blankets rush out to attract the bull's attention so he does not gore the rider. In the second case, the crowd cheers lustily and the band plays the bullfighter's triumphant flourish, the "Diana." The performance is then repeated until the bulls have all been used or darkness puts a stop to the performance.

527 The bull riding at Cherán is carefully super-
541 vised, and drunken men not only are forbidden to attempt to ride the bull but are excluded
273 from the ring. If they manage to get in, they are quite literally thrown out by a couple of husky helpers. In this respect Cherán differs from many places. I saw bull riding at the Paracho fiesta, and not only were drunken men permitted in the ring but were permitted to ride. Serious injuries are said often to result in such cases, although I saw no mishaps. Even at Cherán it is not uncommon for two or three persons to be injured, although serious injuries are fairly rare. One boy's front teeth were knocked out on the third day of bull riding in 1940.

527 The procedures described above were re-
541 peated on Tuesday and Wednesday. In theory this ended the fiesta, but the musicians by now were so much in the spirit of things that they did not go home Wednesday night. Thursday a group of young men got permission from the municipal authorities for another day of bull riding and paid one of the bands an extra 10 or 15 pesos to stay and play for the affair. On this day, the good bulls all having been ridden, the young men borrowed bulls from residents who had more or less tame bulls nearby. Bulls are not ridden at any other fiesta.

527 While the market continued to some extent
443 throughout the 3 days of bull riding, some people left even by Monday. By Wednesday the majority of the vendors had departed. There were no special closing ceremonies for the fiesta.

THE FIESTA OF CORPUS

527 The fiesta of Corpus in May is apparently the most interesting of the Cherán fiestas. It was not observed, and the notes which follow are based on accounts of informants. There

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

527 "Šéjeta (look at it)" and "Piájeta (buy it)."
543 Mock trade is carried on, using the small pieces
198 of bread as money. This procedure continues until about 7 o'clock in the evening.

527 Often a group of young men will ask per-
● 541 mission of the municipal authorities to collect the *"pisos de plaza,"* that is, the tax on merchants for using the plaza (which is not collected by the *municipio* on this occasion). No one pays the young men in money, but instead in produce—miniature breads, miniature planks, a few bananas, etc. Other young men may secure permission to be the "bandits," *los asaltadores.* Both groups then arm themselves with wooden pistols and rifles. When the first group has collected the "tax," it is assaulted by the second and the two pretend to fight, "shooting" at one another until the bandits have taken away part of the things secured by the tax collectors.

527 The Mass for this fiesta is celebrated on
796 Thursday. I could not find out definitely who pays for the Mass, most informants hazarding the guess that there is a *carguero* or *mayordomo* for this. On Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday there are no public functions. The musicians play in the houses of the different commissioners. There is no *castillo,* nor is there any bull riding.

FIESTA OF LA OCTAVA

527 The Octava occurs a week after Easter
443 Saturday and is held on Saturday and Sunday only. It is primarily a commercial fair, resembling the fiesta of the patron saint on a smaller scale and without *castillo,* dancers, or bull riding. Five to eight commissioners are appointed for each *barrio* and they raise enough money to hire one band. The cost of the band is divided equally among the four *barrios.* No data were secured on the way in which Mass is paid.

527 The major feature of the fiesta is cock fight-
541 ing. Usually a group interested in cock fighting hires a house near the center of town, puts up a ring and some benches, and conducts fairly organized matches. However, there are many other fights on street corners and in the patios of private houses. Bets are placed on the fights. Cocks are specially raised for fighting, but the Octava is the only time there are any

527 organized fights or any considerable amount of
541 betting. During 8 months I neither saw nor heard of cock fighting except in connection with the fiesta.

CARNIVAL

527 The Tuesday before the beginning of Lent,
[785] everyone fasts until noon. After breaking the fast, the young men go about the streets, some with musicians and some without. The girls sit at the doors of their houses with baskets of elaborately painted eggshells filled with confetti which they have been saving for several months. The boys buy the eggs from the girls and then break them over the girls' heads. The boys and girls also throw confetti at one another and sometimes the boys get such things as oranges and throw them at one another. This is repeated on Wednesday and is the only celebration of carnival.

LENT AND HOLY WEEK

796 Most of the population fast part of Lent.
[785] Some people fast until noon every day. Others do this only two or three times. On Fridays most people abstain from meat but otherwise do not fast especially.

[624] Before Palm Sunday, the collector (an official of the *cabildo*) visits the fathers of boys of suitable age and selects a boy from each *barrio*. When the boy and his father have accepted, the boy picks a girl to assist him, usually his sweetheart. The collector then visits the girl's father and gets his consent. The boys now
[484] make a trip to the hot country to bring back green palm leaves for use in the church on Palm Sunday. Before leaving, each boy gives the girl about half a hectoliter of maize, 5 liters of black maize, and some brown sugar. The
[252] girl toasts the regular maize well, grinds it, and makes large balls of the ground maize, or pinole, and the brown sugar. These are wrapped in leaves painted with many colors with analine dyes. The black maize she makes into *gorditos*, a sort of fried tortilla.

The boy also provides a wooden cross some 5 feet high. To this are fastened the balls of pinole along the upright and the arms of the cross. At the top of the cross and on the arms are also hung many fiber bags (*morales*) and small cloths used to wrap up tortillas. The

796 624 each *regidor*. Each *regidor* makes a speech in Tarascan, called uandakua, after which they begin to drink čarape and to receive blessed wax. For lunch they eat *menudo*, while for dinner they eat čurípo and nákatamales. They continue drinking until about 5 o'clock, when they go to the house of the new *mayordomo* of Santiago and continue drinking until night.

796 Two days after Candelaria the *roseras* ring bells in the hospital to call the boys and girls of the town to get firewood for the hospital. The boys and girls go to the mountains for a week, chaperoned by the *roseras*, and accumulate enough wood for the needs of the hospital for a year.

On Monday of Carnival the images of San Nicholás are taken from the houses of the old *cargueros* to the houses of the new. Similar fiestas are held in each case. The evening before, the new *carguero* assembles boys to go to the place called Cerro Viejo to get flowers known as kanínšikuas. The boys are fed tortillas with pork and beans. They are also given liquor to drink on the trip. When the boys return they are met with music, and *cohetes* are fired off. Three cane arches are decorated with the flowers, one for the gate, one for the door of the room occupied by the image of the saint, and one over the image inside the room.

On Tuesday are changed the four *vaqueritas* ("little cow girls"), two virgin girls from each *barrio*, who are overseen by the *vaqueros*. On the roof of the houses of old and new *vaqueros* are placed banners with red figures. Boys climb up and remove the banners, giving them to the house owners, who give the boys a bottle of *aguardiente*. (According to another informant, the banners are placed in a tree 8 days in advance.) [524] The boys later make bulls of mats and hides and play at bull fighting in the streets. Each *barrio* has two "bulls," with musicians accompanying them. The boys give presents of sugarcane to the girls, who, in return, give them čapatas. [431] In the evening there is a concert in the plaza and much breaking of confetti-filled eggshells. Arches with the kanínšikua flowers are made for the *vaqueritas*.

541 796 At a period believed to be before 1900, actual bull fights were held. Women called *vaqueras*, who were hired by the *roseras*, did the bull

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

La Cañada

541 fighting (of which no further details were learned). Some women appeared every year.
796 They wore dresses of red bayeta, a white kerchief on the head, and a felt hat. Two kerchiefs were crossed on the body (breast?) and another was used to tease the bull. A machete was carried on the shoulder.

796 On these occasions the image of the Virgin of the hospital was taken out and handfuls of tiny confections, of the size of silantro seeds, were scattered. The boys and girls broke many eggshells filled with confetti. The boys struck the girls with sugarcanes when possible and the girls retaliated with čapatas wrapped in napkins.

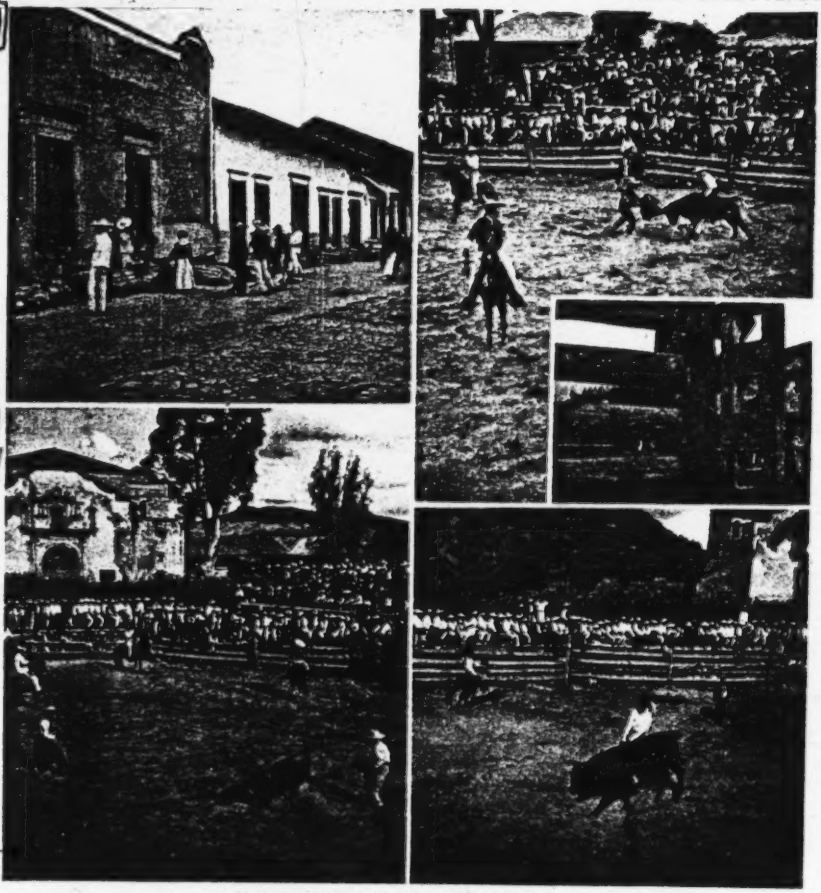
On Ash Wednesday the *cargueros* assembled in the houses of the *vaquero* and karačakape. Piles of oranges, limes, ashes, and earth were placed in the yards, and men and women fought. The oranges and limes were blackened with charcoal and thrown, as were ashes and earth. When the game became violent, a woman struck a shake with a stick and called "peace, peace." The game then stopped.

The passion of Christ was once represented. On Thursday of Holy Week, the imprisonment of Christ was represented, many youths dressing as Jews and soldiers. Friday the image was taken in procession, decorated with laurel, roses, bananas, čapatas, and flour tamales.

Normally processions were held three times a year, Holy Thursday, the Friday of Sorrows, and Corpus. The same images were used each time. The image of Jesus the Nazarene was dressed in dark tunic, a cord at the belt, and the stretcher decorated with field flowers. Boys carried the stretcher. Anyone wishing to participate dressed himself in a black tunic and bonnet and went out to gather flowers. The boys were called Judas. The images of Mary Magdalene and the Virgin were also taken in the procession. The image of the Virgin was in the special charge of the *roseras*, who dressed it and prepared the stretcher with flowers. The *pendompari* carried a standard (*pendon*), from which her name is derived, while the *capitamoro* carried a spray of flowers. Both went ahead of the Virgin. The *fiscal* carried an incense burner at the head of the procession. Twelve boys dressed in red tunics represented the Twelve Apostles.

1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

[351] [417] [335]



MARKET AND BULL FIGHTING DURING FESTIVAL.

Upper (left): Pottery before being unpacked for the market. *Upper (right):* Riding a bucking bull, the man with cape diverting it from the horses. *Lower (left):* Cowboys (*vaqueros*) throw the bull in the bull ring, then tie a rope around its forequarters. *Lower (right):* Bull riding. *Inset:* Construction of bull ring fence; post on right has holes cut with ax to receive the logs forming the gate.

[End Plate 5]

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 269] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

796 Different towns have reputations for
535 giving dances in which they excel, and these are taken to other places. Lately, through secularization, dances are performed on non-religious occasions: for instance, the Moors and Christians from Ihuatzio and the Old Men from Cucuchucho performed in Tzintzuntzan to commemorate the establishment of the municipio.[13]

796 The organization of the festivals adds further elaboration for the ceremonials. In the case of sponsorships *(mayordomias)* in which the image of the saint is kept in the house of the sponsor *(mayordomo)* the moving of the image from house to house or to the church is also an occasion for celebration. The cargueros usually prepare a banquet for other officials, civil or religious, and for the participants in the dances. These obligations are met with some help from relatives and are occasions for exchange of property. Music is played and the dances are performed in courtyards of the houses of cargueros and dancers. The change of cargueros, including petitioning for office and changing officials, further adds to the celebration.[14]

178 These affairs are presently in an ad-
796 vanced stage of secularization. Their social and entertainment value is often greater than the religious. Dances are popular as amusements, perhaps more than anything else, the mythical meaning being in many cases obscure. Major festivals have many
● [541] other entertainments such as fireworks *(castillo)* or bull riding *(jaripeo)*.

796 Also very important is the connection
517 with trade. On great festivals a market is held and people come in pilgrimage, combining their duties with trade transactions. The meeting of people for religious celebrations and market brings further entertainment as occasions to meet friends and relatives and to get drunk. And for the young people it is an occasion to meet and for courtship. Every town has a major fiesta, usually although not always that of the patron saint, which draws people from many villages.[15]

The Traditional Organization of the Cult

794 The organization of the cult among Mexi-
621 can Indians has always been closely connected with the political and social organization of the communities.

13. Foster, 1948, 188.
14. For instance Beals, 1946, 133-4.
15. A list of each town's main festival is given in Juchari anápu, 1945.